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AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED BEFORE

The Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia,

IN THE SESSION ROOM

OF THE

SECOND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

(ON CHERRY STREET,)

IN THE FIRST MONTH, (JANUARY,) 1834.

BY E. P. ATLEE, M. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN APPENDIX.

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AN ADDRESS, &c.

FELLOW CITIZENS—

It is a lamentable, a humbling truth, that in the 58th year of our country's independence—when, agreeably to our professions to the world, our institutions should now be dispensing the fruition of *republican freedom* to every man within our borders, and the pledged security of *equal rights*, there exists the necessity for the formation of associations for the overthrow of a monster of oppression, a system of tyranny more gross and abhorrent in its features, compared with former eras, than the world has ever tolerated. I allude to slavery, as it is legalized in these United States.

Previous to our struggle for “a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth,” the patriot, the philosopher, and the sage had seen the evils of this system. Dr. Benjamin Rush, Franklin, and a host of kindred worthies, had formed in this city, the first Abolition Society in the world—and to its everlasting honour be it spoken, that society yet exists, and has to this day maintained an exalted character and consistent defence of the rights and privileges of the coloured man. Its efforts, however, for many years were so unobtrusive, and after obtaining the passage of a law for the abolition of slavery in this State, the exertions of its members became so entirely confined to the kidnapping of free persons of colour in our own territories, and their improvement by education, &c., that the community at large was permitted to sink into forgetfulness. Thus an opportunity was allowed for the sowing, cultivation, and wide extended growth among the people of “this State of Penn,” of a prejudice against the coloured population, ungenerous, ignoble, anti-republican, and unchristian. It is true, that the cause of abolition was partially kept alive throughout the Union, by the biennial assemblage of delegates from various States, in the capacity of a convention, who constantly urged upon Congress the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and other territories under its exclusive jurisdiction, and appealed, through its addresses, to the slave-holding States, in the language of affection, firmness, and Christian remonstrance, to fix some day on which slavery should cease.

Such, however, has become the national drunkenness in this iniquity, and the deadly lethargy of the country, that the time has arrived when the true lovers of our pure and unadulterated institutions must “lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions and their sins.” It is no time now to cry peace! peace! when this whole nation, through the paralyzing policy of the Northern press, and the boasting defiance of eternal power, and self-complacent security of Southern government, is hastening to premature dissolution. The fearful accumulation of slavery is the *real* cause of most of our national difficulties. Conceal it as we may, *this* is the root of bitterness between the States; *this* is the cancer-worm which is gnawing at the very vitals of our body politic. So

long as it is cherished, so long will discordant interests divide the country. So long as it is looked upon as a degradation to labour for a subsistence, by the mass of our white citizens of one section of our Union, so long will those of the other, whose political and even moral economy, requires an opposite course, be held in contempt by those who luxuriate upon the toils of absolute vassals.

We are told by many "that they are opposed to slavery in the abstract, that they deprecate it as much as we can, and that they would gladly unite in accomplishing its total overthrow;" but "that now is not the time for such an effort." "The slave-holders are not ready to listen to us." "After a while, perhaps, they may see their error and repent." "Then it will be *expedient* to call upon them."

For ourselves, we cannot comprehend the meaning of "slavery in the abstract." Is there, we ask, no absolute, unconditional bondage, no brutal servitude of our fellow men in these United States? Does it exist only in the mind as an *ignis fatuus*? Again, is it possible to consider it without reference to particular persons or things? These are senses in which the term *abstract* is correctly used. Under such oblique, sophisticated vision, the *proper time* would never be discovered.

It shall be our province on the present occasion, to exhibit this national sin, and national curse, not *abstractedly*, but as it *really is*. For which purpose we shall appeal to the statute books of the slave-holding States, a view of which is contained in Stroud's "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several States of the United States of America," published in 1827: a work which ought to be carefully perused, and impartially examined by every lover of freedom, and compared with the fundamental doctrines of our republic, and with the principles of the Christian religion.

And, 1st, we shall draw the attention of the female part of this interesting assembly, whose influence upon general sentiment, and efficient moral power over the hearts and understandings of mankind, is acknowledged to be pre-eminent, to the established *legal principle*, that the fate of the children is to be determined according to the condition of *their mothers*. The States of Maryland, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana, all unite in pronouncing the fiat of *perpetual slavery* upon every individual whose *mother* may have been coloured. Maryland, by an enactment in 1715, and which now remains in force, declares as follows:—

"All negroes, and other slaves, already imported, or hereafter to be imported into this province, and all *children now born or hereafter to be born of such negroes and slaves*, shall be slaves *during their natural lives*. See Ch. 44, Sec. 22.

South Carolina, according to Brevard's Digest, (2d) 229, enacted, in 1740, the following:—"All negroes, Indians, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes, who are now free excepted,) mulattoes, or mestizoes, who are now or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring born, or to be born, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be and remain for ever hereafter *absolute slaves*, and shall follow the *condition of the mother*."

By a letter addressed to Professor James, of the University of Pennsylvania, dated November 15th, 1825, and to be seen in the North American Medical and Surgical Journal No. 2, for April 1826, it appears that the establishment of this principle has operated to the enslavement of *white* children in South Carolina born of a *slave mother*. These are authenticated facts.

I leave my intelligent audience to interpret why the helpless infant shares the condition of *the mother*. Such is the holy indignation I feel in contemplating this abominable statute, that were I to dwell upon the subject, I should utter language which would inflict pangs upon the feelings of the slave-holders, as inhuman as the lashes upon the bare bodies of their

slaves. And yet the abolitionists of the country are denounced by too many of their countrymen, as "*sickly philanthropists, fanatics, incendiaries,*" &c. for endeavouring to rouse the moral energies of the people of this nation, so that such laws may be repealed, and every human being reinstated in those unalienable rights to which nature and nature's God entitle them!

Again. By the Civil Code of Louisiana, Art. 35, it is enacted, that "a slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labour: he can do nothing, nor acquire any thing, but what must belong to his master."

South Carolina declares, according to Prince's Digest, 446, that "slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, reputed, and adjudged *in law*, to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all *intents, constructions and purposes whatever.*"

Maryland, in illustration of this doctrine, thus speaks, Act of 1798, Ch. CI:—"In case the personal property of a ward shall consist of specific articles, such as *slaves, working-beasts, animals of any kind*, stock, furniture, plate, books, and so forth, the Court, if it shall deem it advantageous for the ward, may at any time pass an order for the sale thereof."

The Civil Code of Louisiana, Art. 46, says, that "slaves, though moveable by *nature*, are considered as immoveable by the operation of *law*." Again, Act of Assembly, June 7th, 1806: "Slaves shall always be reputed and considered *real estate*; shall be, as such, subject to be mortgaged, according to the rules prescribed *by law*, and they shall be seized and sold as real estate."

In Kentucky they are by the *law of descents* considered *real estate*, and pass to *heirs* and not to *executors*. But as *chattels* they may be sold by the master at his pleasure, and taken in execution for the payment of his debts. See *Littell & Swigart*, 1155 & 1247.

2. We shall now sum up the consideration of the relations according to law which subsist between master and slave in this "land of liberty," "this asylum for the oppressed of all nations," this "land of the free and home of the brave;" by presenting to your notice the following positions, clearly deduced from the operations of law and usage in the slave States:

I. "The master may determine the kind and degree, and time of labour, to which the slave shall be subjected."

II. "The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to the quantity and quality, as he may think proper, or find convenient."

III. "The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of the slave."

IV. "All the power of the master over his slave may be exercised not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent."

V. "Slaves have no legal rights of property in things, real or personal; but whatever they may acquire belongs, *in point of law*, to their masters."

VI. "The slave being a *personal chattel*, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged or leased, at the will of his master."

VII. "He may also be sold by process of *law*, for the satisfaction of the debts of a living, or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees."

VIII. "A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal, in any species of action, against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him."

IX. "Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such change necessary for their personal safety."

X. "Slaves being objects of *property*, if injured by a third person, their *owners* may bring suit, and recover damages for the injury."

XI. "Slaves can make *no contract*."

XII. "Slavery is *hereditary* and *perpetual*."

These, then, are a part of the legal relations as given by Strond, up to the time when his work was published. If repeals have taken place in any of the States since then, I am ignorant of them. But in addition to these, other laws have been subsequently passed in several of the states, making it penal to instruct them in any way, even in the truths and consolations of the Gospel. So that they are deprived *by law* of a part of the means designed by Deity for obtaining a knowledge *of his will*, and for a preparation for eternity.

Millions of dollars have been expended, by the Christian world, and are now being expended, through the medium of Bible, Missionary and numerous other institutions, under the plea of converting the Heathen, spreading the glorious knowledge of the Lord to the remotest parts of the earth, and enlightening the dark places of our own and foreign lands. The necessity of general education for securing the happiness of mankind, and the true elevation of his character, is acknowledged by all the liberal governments of the earth.

But especially in this "our own, our native land," are our philosophers, our statesmen, and philanthropists uniting together the influence of their pens, their eloquence, and their beneficence, to convey to the humblest child of the republic, the treasures of useful knowledge. For what purpose?

To exalt the character of its citizens, and thereby secure the perpetuity and glory of our country. And yet where are they who plead for the christianising the poor, the oppressed, the degraded slave? Where are they who point to the millions of the despised descendants of Africa in our land, and urge *their* claims upon the country? Small indeed is the band, and almost unobserved! But greater is *He* that is within *them*, than *they* that are in the world.

Whatever may be their present obscurity, however their principles may be denounced, and their designs misrepresented, the time must come, sooner or later, when general sentiment will concur in pronouncing them the real lovers and benefactors of their country.

We have read you some of the laws which obtain in the slave states;—we will now present you with their practical operations. To silence all cavilling on the subject, and to avoid the charge of asserting that which is only hearsay or surmised, we beg leave to read you the following advertisements, taken from a number of the latest newspapers:

From the New Orleans Argus, December 18th, 1833.

"*Parish of Orleans—Court of Probate—Sale by Register of Wills.*

On Wednesday, the 18th of December, 1833, I will expose for sale at auction, at the Exchange Coffee House, for account of the succession of Alphonse Carian, deceased, the following described *slaves* and landed property, viz:

SLAVES.—*George*, a negro man, aged about 24 years; segar maker, good subject.

Amikey, a negro woman, aged about 60 years; somewhat of a washer.

Jean Louis, a creole negro boy; aged 11 years.

The slaves at one year's credit, for approved indorsed notes, secured by special mortgage.

The act of sale to be passed before L. T. Caire, notary public, at the expense of the purchaser.—By order of the court.

W. F. C. DUPLESIIS, *Register of Wills.*"

"On Wednesday the 25th day of December inst, at noon, &c., I will expose for sale at auction, at the New Exchange Coffee House, for account of the succession of W. Adams, deceased, a negro slave, named *Willis*, aged about 30 years, drayman and laborer, having been once convicted of theft. The above named and described slave to be sold to the highest and last bidder, for what he will bring, &c.—By order of the court.

W. F. C. DUPLESIS, *Register of Wills.*"

"On Tuesday, the 31st day of December, 1833, I will expose, &c., a negro woman named *Betty*, aged about 30 years, and *Mariah*, a negro woman, aged about 23 years, with her son *Jack*, about six years old.—By order of the court.

W. F. C. DUPLESIS, *Register of Wills.*"

"On the same day, and at the same time, the following:—*Babet*, a negress 30 years old, *having lost her fingers and toes*; and *Adelaide*, a negress, aged about 35 years, and her two children, *Angele*, a negro girl, nine years old, and *Christine*, a negro girl six years old.—By order of the court.

W. F. C. DUPLESIS, *Register of Wills.*"

"Marshal's Sale. Shepherd and Ireland, testamentary executors of the late W. H. Ireland *vs.* Breuf. By virtue of two writs of *fi. fa.* to me directed, by the Hon. Charles Gayarre, presiding Judge of the City Court of New Orleans, I shall expose for sale, on Friday the 27th December at 12 o'clock, at Hewlett's Coffee House, the mulatto girl named *Nancy*, seized in the above suit, the same being the second and last auction. She will be sold to the highest bidder for what she will bring. &c.

B. BEAUREGARD, *Marshal.*"

"By Isaac L. M'Coy. Will be sold, on Monday, 23d December, at 12 o'clock, &c., by virtue of an order from the Hon. Judge of the Parish Court, for the Parish of Jefferson, &c. &c., the following slaves belonging to the estate, &c.

Jenny, aged about 30 years, cook, washer, ironer, and home servant, together with her four children; *Elizabeth*, aged eight years, *Robert*, seven, *John*, three, and an infant three months old."

"By Tricou and Canonge. By order of the Court of Probates, &c., will be sold, on Monday, 30th December next, the following property, &c.

"The creole negress *Nina*, aged about 30 years, middling cook and house servant, together with her two children, mulattress *Lise*, aged nine years, and *Charles*, aged seven years."

"By Tricou and Canonge, on account of departure, will be sold, on Saturday, the 28th December, 1833, at 12 o'clock, &c.

Nathan, a negro, aged 27 years, good butcher, carter, and handy at every thing; *faithful servant*. *Sam*, aged 26 years, somewhat of a carpenter, carter, &c. *Violette*, aged 19 years, cook, ironer, washer, house servant, and first rate character. *Thomas*, aged 16 years, good servant. The above slaves are fully warranted."

From the Nashville Whig, December 19th, 1833.

"Cash for Negroes. The subscriber wishes to purchase 25 or 30 likely young negroes, from 12 to 25 years of age; also a first rate blacksmith and carpenter. Persons wishing to sell will do well to call at the City Hotel and see the subscriber, as he is buying for his own use, and will give the best prices.

Nashville, November 23d, 1833.

(Signed) SAMUEL MEEK."

From the New Orleans Courier, December 20th, 1833.

"By T. Mossy. On Wednesday, the 22d January next, at 12 o'clock, at the Exchange, will be sold, for account of the creditors, &c., 100 slaves of both sexes, and of different ages."

"By the same. On Monday, 23d inst. at noon, will be sold, &c., a family of valuable slaves, to wit:—*Obidaja*, a creole negro, about 23 or 24 years old, a good gardener, something of a mason and painter, and a good subject.

"*Marie*, his sister, 29 or 30 years old, with two children,—*Jacques*, eight years old, and *Lubin*, twelve months old. She is a good subject; cook, washer and ironer, and a good seller of vegetables.

"*Lady*, sister of Marie, about 26, good family cook, washer and ironer, and now pregnant.* The above slaves are guaranteed against vices and disease, *as prescribed by law.*"

"By F. Dutillet. Pierre Hutchet Kernion *vs.* His Creditors. Pursuant to an order of the Hon. &c., I shall offer for sale, &c., *Fanny*, a negress of about 17 years, maimed in the hip.

"*Elsy*, a negress, aged about 20 years, with *her child*, 22 months old." With several others in the same advertisement.

"By the same. Will be sold, on Monday, 23d Dec. at 12 o'clock, &c., for account of the succession &c., the slaves, plantation, and bank stock hereinafter described. Among others of the chattels are, 4th, *Fanny*, a negro wench, aged about 24 years, house servant, washer and ironer, with her four children; *Philogene*, mulatto, aged about eight years; *Henry*, mulatto, of five years; *Philipe*, a griffe of six years, and *Eliza*, a griffonne of two years."

From the Charleston Mercury, Dec. 21, 1833.

"Notice.—Estate Sale. One hundred and thirty-five negroes, mules, and cattle, &c. By permission of Jas. S. Guignard, Ordinary of Richland district, will be exposed to public auction, on the first Tuesday of February next, before the court house and market in the town of Columbia, South Carolina, the entire gang of 135 negroes, mules, and cattle, hogs, provisions, &c., belonging," &c. &c.

J. M. HOWELL, *Adm.*"

"*Cash will be paid* for any number of single negroes, from the age of 10 to 35 years old, of either sex. Also, wanted, carpenters, blacksmiths, coopers, and bricklayers. Persons wishing to sell such property, will do well by calling at the City Hotel, East Bay, or at Alexander M'Donald's store, corner of King and George Streets, as the subscriber will continue to purchase during the season, and will give the highest prices for such property.
(Signed) HUGH M'DONALD."

From the Savannah Georgian, December 28th, 1833.

"Sheriff's Sale. On the first Tuesday in January next, will be sold, before the Court House, in the city of Savannah, between the usual hours of sale, one mulatto boy, named *Marcus*, alias *Tucker*; levied on, under and by virtue of executions on foreclosure of mortgage, issuing out of the Superior Court of Twiggs County, in favour of James Solomon *vs.* Joseph D. Thompson.
(Signed) GEORGE MILLEN. S. C. C."

"Executor's Sale. On the first Tuesday in January next, before the Court House in Savannah, will be sold the following negro slaves:—viz.

* The closing part of this sentence was suppressed by the speaker, from motives of delicacy.

Molly, Bella, William, Justice, Moses, Josiah, Sandy, Betsy, Scipio, Fanny, Jenny, May, Polly, Tenah, Emy, Shadrach, Rebecca, Dick, Peg, Die, Margaret, and March. Sold by order of the court, as part of the personal estate, &c.
JAMES HUNTER, *Ex'or.*"

From the Charleston Mercury, December 30th, 1833.

"*The highest price cash*, will be given for *negroes*, between the ages of 10 and 30, by the subscriber. Persons having *property* of that kind to dispose of, either in town or in the country, will do well by applying to

JAMES H. GARDINER,
Norris' Hotel, corner King and George Streets."

"By Lance and Berney. On Thursday, 16th January next, will be sold at the North of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock, a remarkably prime gang of about 50 *negroes*, accustomed to the culture of Rice and Cotton."

"By the same. On Monday, 6th of January next, will be sold, at the North of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock, a remarkably prime gang of 70 *negroes*, accustomed to the culture of Rice."

"Under decree of Chancery. In the case of ——— vs. ———, Legatees of ———, will be sold, between 50 and 60 *negroes*, belonging to the estate of ———."

"By Thomas N. Gadsdon. This day, 30th inst., will be sold at the North of the Exchange, at 11 o'clock, a likely fellow about 30 years of age, a first rate coachman, warranted sound and healthy."

"By the same, on the same day, and at the same place and hour. Four prime field *negroes*. A fellow about 28 years of age. A wench about 28 do. A young fellow about 18, very prime. A young wench about 18, do. Several other *negroes*, accustomed to the city."

From the Charleston Evening Post, December 30th, 1833.

"By Thomas Milliken. On Wednesday, 22d of January, &c., 182 very prime *negroes*, accustomed to the culture of Rice, Cotton and Provisions."

From the Richmond Compiler, December 31st, 1833.

"*Cash for Negroes.* I shall be absent two or three months from Richmond; during my absence Messrs. Wm. H. Goodwin and Nathaniel Glinn, will attend to my jail, and the purchase of *slaves* for me. Liberal prices will be paid.

(Signed) LEWIS A. COLLIER."

November 21st.

From the Petersburg Intelligencer, January 2d, 1834.

"*Notice.* Will be sold to the highest bidder, for cash, at Hicksford, on Monday, the 6th of January next (being court day), 15 or 16 *negroes*, most of them boys from 10 to 18 years of age. They are all likely and under good character.

TIMOTHY THORP."

From the Washington National Intelligencer, January 2d, 1834.

"*Cash for Servants.* I will give cash, and the highest price, for any number of likely *negroes*. I particularly want some families. Apply at Lloyd's Steam-Boat Hotel, near the centre market, Washington City.

(Signed) THOMAS M. JONES."

September 30th.

From the Richmond Whig, January 3d, 1834.

(Its motto,—"*Democracy—the Constitution—State Rights.*")

"20 *Negroes for sale.* I will sell, on the 13th day of January next (it being court day), at Buckingham Court House, twenty *negroes*, consisting of men, women, and children, as likely as any of the same number to be

found, to the highest bidder, for cash. Those who wish to purchase will do well to attend, as the sale will certainly take place.

ROBERT BOLLING."

Thus, my fellow-citizens! have you been enabled to learn, from their own publications, the debased, the degraded, the brutalized condition in which the slaveholding States have placed more than 2,000,000 of your fellow creatures, whose only crime is that of being guilty of having "a skin not coloured like your own."

Whence, I ask you, is derived the authority for laws and usages such as these? Can it be found in the Bible; or in the Declaration of Independence? It is to be found in neither! But it is asserted, that *slaves* are declared to be *property* by the Constitution of the United States. This conclusion is come to, not by the *letter* of the Constitution, but by construction, or implied meaning; for that instrument carefully avoids the term *slave*, and says, "persons held to service or labour," &c. If, however, we grant that it intended to mean *slaves*, we deny that any nation or people can invest itself with a power or powers above *that God* "who hath of one blood created all the nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth." Now the Old Testament says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour." "Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, neither rob him: the wages of him that is hired, shall not abide with thee all night until the morning." "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Many more passages might be quoted, but these are sufficient. The *New Testament*, certainly nowhere warrants the enslavement of mankind! And the charter of our own rights declares, that "All men are created equal, having certain unalienable rights, among which are Life, *Liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness." The gross inconsistency between our professions and our practice, has justly brought upon us the taunt and sneer of the monarchists of the Old World.

A late European traveller, of undoubted respectability and candour, to wit, "James Stuart, Esq.," in his "Three Years in North America," says, "The existence of slavery in its most hideous form, in a country of absolute freedom, in most respects, is one of those extraordinary anomalies for which it is impossible to account."

No man was more sensible of this than Jefferson, nor more anxious that so foul a stain on the otherwise free institutions of the United States, should be wiped away. His sentiments on this subject, and on the peculiar situation of his countrymen in maintaining slavery, are thus given, in a communication to one of his friends: "What an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow man a bondage, *one hour of which* is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and, by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, *or at length*, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to a blind fatality." In confirmation of this, our exalted statesman's hopes, we believe that, through the means proposed by the Abolitionists of this country, and by no other, can the exterminating thunder of God be averted.

That you may properly appreciate the *true* objects and intentions of our organization, we beg leave to read you our declaration of sentiments, &c.

Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention, assembled in Philadelphia, December 4th, 1833.

THE Convention, assembled in the city of Philadelphia to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the *Temple of Freedom* was broadly this—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that *Truth, Justice, and Right* were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving,—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the law, and treated by their fellow beings, as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slave-holding States.

Hence we maintain—That in view of the civil and religious privileges

of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly; to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandize—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labour—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an *American* as an *African*.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference, *in principle*, between the African slave trade and American slavery;

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is (according to Scripture*) a *man-stealer*;

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law;

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity;

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of Nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—That all persons of colour who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;

Because *Slavery is a crime, and therefore it is not an article to be sold*;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property: it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free labourers: and

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard, as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

*Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves: they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger: *it must be broken up.*

These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the over-ruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation as upon the *Everlasting Rock*.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.

We shall send forth Agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at the purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labour of freemen rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions: and,

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. *We* may be personally defeated, but our principles never. *Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity*, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the coloured population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of *Liberty, Justice, and Humanity*, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great,

benevolent, and holy cause. Done in Philadelphia, this sixth day of December, A. D. 1833.

We are aware that many of the benevolent, the wise and the good, are now looking to the removal of this crying evil in the land, by a system of colonization on the shores of Africa. This, however, we contend, can never accomplish its promised good.

The annual increase of the slave population in this country is more than 60,000. The society alluded to must, therefore, remove this amount first, and immediately. The cost of such removal, without considering the tonnage abstracted from our regular commerce, will amount, at the computation of 30 dollars a head, which is far below the actual expense, to the immense sum of 1,800,000 dollars. But whence is this fund to be derived? The advocates of the scheme cannot seriously believe that they can procure it. And if they did, there is still left behind the two millions and a half to be transported. To expose this subject in a clear light, I will give an extract of a communication from a Baptist Minister, (C. P. Grosvenor). He says, "If it is at all needful to take notice of the American Colonization Society, I will say, that through culpable inattention, I remained strangely ignorant of it, in respect to both its ultimate bearings on slavery, and its boasted power of removing the coloured people from the country, until after I had appeared as its advocate on July 4th 1831, in a public address in this town (Salem, Mass.). On a review of that address I perceived that my own argument was unsound. This discovery turned my thoughts with great seriousness to an inquiry into its real claims on my confidence and support, and the result was my decided conviction of its utter powerlessness to accomplish the proposed object. It is demonstrable, that in a war with Great Britain, it would be as wise to rely on a single schooner to resist effectually her entire navy, as it is to rely on any project for the transportation of two million and a half of coloured people, with their annual increase of 60,000; it being necessary in order to effect this object in 100 years, to transport 100,000 every year. At an expense of 60 dollars a head, which is less than it has cost hitherto, the annual expenditure would be 6,000,000 of dollars, and the whole expense 600,000,000. I would as soon attempt to lade out the ocean with the pen I write with, as enter on the work of transportation as a hopeful cure of this evil." These are the calculations of a former friend to the colonization scheme, and also of a gentleman formerly pastor of a church in South Carolina, and who also observes, "God forbid that any society be formed which shall not propose to itself both the promotion of *His glory and the good of all our fellow-citizens, both white and coloured.*"

There are many principles of political economy which directly militate against this scheme, as well as *facts* respecting the rise and progress of the colony to the present time, which I shall not now present, because I am unwilling to state any thing to wound the feelings of those of my countrymen who have been conscientious in its support. My object is merely to induce a minute examination, which I am satisfied will convince all that something else is required, to rid us of the existence of slavery.

The query then is, what method is to be adopted? It is this—to repent of our iniquity, that, through the influence of the love of God shed abroad in the heart, we may be enabled to divest ourselves of the cruel prejudice, which declares that the coloured man must forever be held as of a distinct and separate race, "repugnant to our republican feelings and dangerous to our republican institutions." Is he not the fellow-heir of immortality with us? Do we not know that, as the workmanship of the same Almighty hand, he is equally susceptible with us of mental cultivation? If so, what is to prevent his becoming a useful and worthy citizen? We owe it to conscience—to patriotism—to humanity—to posterity, that the generation now rising to enjoy the blessings, and sustain the responsibilities of civil

and religious liberty, should not be left to grope in the darkness of ignorance, and thus to disgrace still more the institutions of our fathers! We must earnestly and unceasingly remonstrate with the oppressor, *at once*, to remove those barriers which the *laws* have wickedly erected against their vassals. We must urge upon them the absolute necessity to afford them the same legal rights and privileges with themselves. We must call upon them with a high and uplifted voice "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free." Remember! that "To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it *not*, to him it is *sin*."

Aware of the importance of *facts* in making an indelible impression upon the mind, I must beg leave to call your attention to the following statement, received a day or two since, and which I omitted to bring into notice earlier in my address. It is from an individual on whom reliance can be placed, and who has lately left the station of superintendent of a gang of slaves, owned by a person in the State of Georgia. He stated, that he started those under his charge at about 4 o'clock in the morning during the winter season, and at day break during the summer. That they were worked constantly all day, except at about 11 o'clock, when they had a noon of half an hour to receive their *piece*, or allowance for the whole day, which consisted of half a pound of bacon, or three-quarters of a pound of beef, and one quart of ground Indian meal. This allowance was cooked over night, and in case they could not eat it within the prescribed time, the remainder was carried on their heads and partaken of as they could during their labour. That in general they had one suit of miserable negro cloth, hardly fit to be made up, for winter, and one suit of Osnaburg for summer. One pair of shoes for both seasons. That for any indiscretion the slaves received from 20 to 100 lashes with a cowskin, cartwhip, or hickory withe, on their bare backs, according to the will of their master. If the driver refused to inflict the punishment, the *overseer* might whip the *driver*, or call upon any one he pleased, even the husband to whip the wife, or the father the child, or vice versa; and this he had seen done frequently. That forcible separation of the nearest connexions is occurring every day, and children sold from their mothers when about two years old. That in case of the murder of a slave, no redress can be obtained, unless the *whites* take it up—because a negro's oath is nothing at all. That some slaves in Augusta, Charleston, and in some other places, had worked out their freedom. That he never saw a legal marriage among slaves. That on plantations slaves were frequently better fed and treated than those under his charge. But that the weather must be very bad indeed to stop work. That the harder they were whipped the better. They dared not to say a word against it. That children, when they became four years old, receive as many as 8, 10, or 15 lashes on their bare backs, with a cowskin, not quite so hard, because they desire not to injure seriously a *little negro*.

One more fact, and I have done. It appears that there were some laws in Louisiana, prohibitory of the introduction of slaves into that State, under certain restrictions.

The cholera, that dire scourge of mankind, in its passage over our country, swept away great numbers in that and other slave States.

It is said that "when the judgments of the Lord are in the earth, men learn righteousness." Not so, however, is it with the slave-holders. Feeling power, they forget right. Thus I find the following paragraph in the Saturday Evening Post, of the 11th inst. "An act repealing the several prohibition laws against the introduction of slaves into the State of Louisiana, has passed both bodies of the legislature of that State, and only waits the signature of the Governor to become a law."

This act was passed to supply the deficiency caused by the ravages of pestilence. What a comment upon the assertion that slavery is to be eradicated by the removal of even *many* from the country! Even the

solemn call of Deity looses not the chains from the poor descendant of Africa! Nothing but the united powerful demands of the community at large can stop this national sin.

Ours is a country of *laws*, made by the *people*; to them we must appeal. Many who regard not the laws of the Almighty, fear the popular indignation.

Look to Great Britain! The immortal Wilberforce, the venerable Clarkson, and their persevering coadjutors, kept the subject of Abolition before the view of that nation, despite of opposition from the dignitaries of Church and State, an unprincipled press, and a people once as lethargic as the people of the United States.—But their cause was the cause of eternal justice, and, *knowing* in whom they trusted, they ceased not in their efforts, until they revolutionized the government and people, and freed their country from the foul stain of slavery. Yes, my republican fellow-citizens, blush! that the nation against whom your fathers recorded their solemn protest for its tyranny, has tarnished forever our fair fame, by proving to the world its superior regard for those *inalienable rights* which *they* first promulgated!

My own dear country! “Wash *thy* purpled hands
Of this foul sin, and never dip them more
In guilt so damnable! *then*, lift them up
In supplication to that God whose name
Is mercy! Then thou may'st, without the risk
Of drawing vengeance from the surcharged clouds,
Implore assistance for thy famished poor.”

The greatest impetus given in England to the progress of the cause to which we are pledged, was produced by the *immediate* emancipationists, one of the most efficient of whom was a female, who published, and extensively circulated, a *masterly* pamphlet, entitled “Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition.”

This excellent work stirred up the nation to a proper examination of the subject. The futility of lopping off the branches to destroy the trunk of this deadly Upas, was clearly discerned. The attention of the female sex was drawn, and as was necessarily to be anticipated, female Anti-Slavery Societies rose up in all parts of the realm. Through them were distributed with unexampled industry, tracts, toys, fancy articles of all kinds, &c., which kept the horrors of slavery constantly before the public. The result was, that in the one-fifth part of the time employed by the *gradualists*, the nation was regenerated.

Can it for one moment be conceded that the *subjects* of the British empire, have more love of justice and of equal rights, than the *freemen* of *this* republic? Are our rulers and our people more deaf to the call of humanity than they? But more especially will the prayers and tender supplications of the matrons and daughters of the United States, on behalf of *liberty*, be totally disregarded by those who glory in the title of “sons of chivalry”? Honour, valour and gallantry forbid the anticipation! We love our countrymen too much to believe that they have closed their ears and steeled their hearts forever.

We therefore ask the ladies of our country to join us in the holy cause of emancipation; the emancipation of more than 2,000,000 of their countrymen, from interminable bondage, as *immediately* as *moral* and *constitutional* means can effect it; as soon as time, and a fair examination of our principles shall have proved to our opponents the purity and righteousness of our intentions.

We seek no worldly glory, we ask no worldly honour. We desire only to do our duty in the sight of God, that through His goodness and mercy, we may be instrumental in averting from our beloved, our guilty country, the pending judgments of *his* indignation and wrath.

APPENDIX.

At the late anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held at New York, James A. Thome of Kentucky asserted that "the Slave States are Sodoms." This was positively denied by our opponents the next day :—Read the following and judge !

A VOICE FROM KENTUCKY.

MR. THOME'S CHARGE SUSTAINED :—"THE SLAVE STATES ARE SODOMS."—This was stoutly denied by the colonization meeting on Wednesday of anniversary week in this city, but by a most remarkable and providential coincidence is fully confirmed by the WESTERN LUMINARY, printed at Lexington (Kentucky) *on the same day* ! Yes ! On the *very day* when New York colonizationists were assembled to defend the obscene Moloch from the charges of Mr Thome, an editor in the same slave State of which Mr. Thome had spoken, was sending forth, without concert, an independent testimony to the very same effect. The writer is treating of "our coloured population." Hear him !

"I proclaim it abroad to the Christian world, that *heathenism* is as real in the slave States as it is in the South Sea islands, and that our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other boards of foreign missions, as the Indians of the western wilds. What is it constitutes heathenism ? Is it to be destitute of the knowledge of God—of his holy word—never to have heard hardly a sentence of it read through life—to know little or nothing of the history, character, instruction and mission of Jesus Christ—to be almost totally devoid of moral knowledge and feeling—of sentiments and probity—truth—and of *chastity* ? Mr. Editor—if this constitutes heathenism, then are thousands, millions of heathens in our own beloved land. Gracious God ! Merciful Redeemer ! Shall thy word and thy gospel be proclaimed in simplicity and truth to one portion of our population, and shall another be born, and live, and die, where the Sun of righteousness shines freely and fully, and never receive more than a dim and wandering ray of his light and glory !

"There is one topic to which I will allude, which will serve to establish the heathenism of this population ; for I wish this truth to be known to our *Eastern brethren*, that if we ourselves will do nothing, *they* may make our negroes an object of missionary attention. I allude to the UNIVERSAL LICENTIOUSNESS which prevails. It may be said, emphatically, that *chastity is no virtue among them*—that its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, or that of their master or mistress—no instruction is ever given, *no censure pronounced*. I speak not of the world. I SPEAK OF CHRISTIAN FAMILIES GENERALLY. How much longer shall this state of things be unregarded !" —*N. Y. Emancipator.*

From the St. Louis Republican.

A NEGRO DRIVER.

Messrs. Editors.—There is a *negro driver* now in this city whom I wish to brand with infamy, and in order that I may do so, I ask for room in your columns to make the following simple statement:

A few days since he went into the country, a short distance from the city, and purchased a negro woman, under the following circumstances: She was about 24 years old, of excellent character, and married to a husband about 28 years of age. As soon as the bargain was closed, the driver told her to start, giving her only ten minutes to prepare. She was not allowed to see her husband. She however sent him word she was gone, and bade him good-bye, and was driven into town and confined by her brutal purchaser. When the poor fellow, her husband, heard the message—for they were most tenderly attached, and both of excellent character—he seemed absolutely stunned with the most unexpected blow. He followed his poor wife to town to take a last look and bid a last adieu, but the thought of parting was more than he could bear, and he determined, if possible, to go with her and share her fate. My informant saw him soon after he came to town, and says that his appearance was such, so completely was his heart broken with anguish, that had he (my informant) been master of five hundred dollars in the world, they should have gone to redeem his wife. When asked what he intended doing, his reply was, “I will get my master to sell me to the driver, and go with my poor wife; my days will not be long on earth, and this I hope will shorten them.”

Messrs. Editors, you, too, are husbands, and the poor fellow's face of whom I speak is not as white, but his blood is as red and as warm as your own; and I call upon every husband and every wife to set the seal of abhorrence and detestation upon the wretch, who will thus DARE to insult the moral sense of our community, and trample on the tenderest and holiest feelings of human nature.—*N. Y. Emancipator.*

COMMERCE OF LIBERIA.—As the principal business of the colony is now admitted to be trade, [see Gov. Pinney's Letter,] of course the nature of that trade should go far to decide our estimate of the character and probable influence of the colony in reference to the civilization and future welfare of Africa. To aid in furnishing our readers with facts, for them to judge upon, I visited the custom house at Philadelphia, and transcribed from the official document, the following list of an assorted cargo for the African trade. It is the manifest of the brig *Ruth*, Capt. Taylor, which sailed from Philadelphia for Liberia about the last of April. The manifest is dated April 28, 1834. I have condensed some of the items, but omitted nothing material.

Shipped, by John W. Baker, 5 bags Laguayra COFFEE: 10 boxes raisins; 2 do. preserved ginger; 1 keg spices; 30 halves chocolate, 7507 lbs.

By Grant & Co., 2 hhds. tobacco, 14 puncheons, 40 bbls., 1 hhd. American, 11 puncheons St. Croix, making 1272 galls. RUM; 14 tierces, 9 bbls. molasses; 15 bbls. dried apples and peaches; 6000 ft. 2 in. plank; 4574 ft. oars; 200 kegs POWDER; 3 boats; 60 bbls., 10 half bbls. pork; 8 half bbls. shad; 37 bbls. beef; 3 half bbls. barley; 3 hhds. bacon; 50 kegs butter; 30 kegs lard; 250 hams; 2 bbls. tongues; 50 bbls. CORN MEAL; 99 boxes soap; 4 boxes brown soap; 2 bbls. cider; 20 bbls. loaf sugar; 7 crates crockery ware; 2 boxes cottons; 2 bales gurrachs; 1 do. counterpanes; 1 do. knives, 56 doz.; 1 do. scarlet cloth, 82 yds.; 1 do. looking-glasses; 1 trunk pocket do., 31 doz.; 1 do. bells; 2 REAMS PAPER; 96 bundles beads; 132 pcs. romals; 1 pkg. contg. cotton goods, and 4 REAMS post Paper; 1 box coral beads, 90 oz.; 1 do. quinine, 10 oz.; 15 boxes

and casks beads, 4186 lbs.; 2 casks col'd cottons; 1 box tumblers; 176 CUTLASSES; 8 cases GUNS, 95; 14 pieces brown linens; 2 doz. hats; 14 casks E. ware; 18 kegs flints; 81 bars lead; 4 empty casks; 483 lbs. composition.

We will not make a single remark on the articles of trade. The articles of subsistence show how absolutely the colony still depends on this country, even for corn meal and coffee.—*N. Y. Evang.*

Extracts from Gov. Pinney's Letter to R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, dated at Liberia, March 7th, 1834.

"You are doubtless aware that affairs were very much deranged, and that very many things needed immediate attention; but the reality in either respect you cannot know, for you have not seen. Almost every public building needed repairs and expense. Unsettled bills for coffins, nurses, rented stores and houses, mechanics, &c., in addition to floating acceptances and orders by my predecessor, to the amount of two or three thousand dollars, and the current expenses of the Colonial officers and school teachers, after his departure, came in upon me like a flood. Many of these accounts, from the situation of the claimants, and all of them on account of their long standing, could not, with justice, be left any longer unsettled. To satisfy them, and even to meet the current expenses of the Agency House, I could resort only to orders and drafts. This I have done; and though the amount may appear very great, I am convinced that justice to claimants, and the best interests of the Society, required such a course; and I confidently believe the proceeding will meet the approbation of the Board.

"The public store, if well supplied with goods, would have greatly lightened the expenses and drafts: but so far from helping, the necessity of having some supply of goods, of which it could afford none, has compelled me to purchase from vessels to the amount of twelve or thirteen hundred dollars, for which I have also drafted. The utter paucity of available property on my arrival, will clearly appear to you on examining the paper (A), wherein is an inventory of public property left by Dr. Mcchlin, a part of which had been expended. (No. 1.) A list of acceptances and orders, also left by him, with a written permission for Mr. Russwurm to draft for them two months after his departure. (No. 2.) The salaries due to officers up to the date of my arrival. (No. 3.) It will be seen by the schedule of agency property, how completely the house was destitute of necessary articles for daily consumption. To supply this deficit, I had recourse to merchants and captains for sugar, tea, hams, &c. &c.; and also for \$100 in cash, to purchase fresh provisions, as they were needed. This I obtained from Capt. Peters, and included in his draft. The same document will make apparent the destitute state of the store. The provisions on hand, from which more than fifty infirm persons and widows were drawing, consisted only of four barrels of beef, 300 kroos of rice, and some damaged meal. In order as much as possible to supply their necessities, and supply the labourers with provisions, all the beef which could be obtained at a reasonable price from vessels touching here, was procured; but the supply was wholly inadequate to the demand; and we are now under the necessity of issuing only rice and meal to the infirmary list.

"The necessity of having some goods on hand to pay off labourers, and supply the schooner with a cargo for trade, has compelled me also to make some purchases; the expectation of receiving a supply from America, has induced me to proceed no farther than the urgent wants of our situation demanded. The inadequacy of the supplies, notwithstanding the purchases mentioned, has been a constant obstacle to the progress of the cur-

rent business ; and in order to accomplish the works mentioned below, I have been compelled to give many orders, at a double expense of time, trouble, and funds ; one half of which might have been saved by a well supplied store."

THE SCHOONER.

"We arrived in January, and, as you are doubtless aware, missed the harvest of rice, which can be procured abundantly in October and November, and with difficulty at any other period. Unfortunately, after her return from Goree, and the departure of Dr. Mechlin, she was allowed to remain unemployed, and thus neglected to improve the most favourable season of the year. This was, in a measure, unavoidable, both on account of her situation, and the utter impossibility of obtaining a cargo from the public store. There being but little rice in the colony, and a probability that much would be needed, I determined at once to make an effort to obtain some, by sending her to leeward. With all my efforts, she was only able to sail on the 26th of February. This great delay was rendered necessary by the time occupied in making repairs. These were very extensive.—On the first attempt to leave her out, she sunk on account of the openness of her seams ; and when, after a thorough caulking, we succeeded in throwing her down to examine her bottom, I was almost disheartened. The copper was worn quite through in very many places, and very thin in all. On the keel, it was much torn up, and four sheets off, occasioned by her having struck on the bar at the commencement of her voyage to Goree.—In these places the planks very much resembled a honey-comb, so completely had the worms bored them. We were under the necessity of making a little lead, given us by the Captain of a British brig of war, and a large supply of pitch, the substitutes for copper, and have rendered her fit for one trip at least. Captain Cooper and his mate made an entire set of new sails, from materials kindly left us by the commander of the United States ship John Adams, before my arrival, whose liberality also supplied us with his own six-oared barge, provided with awnings, &c. &c. &c. The schooner has received a new coat of paint, and with the new sails makes a beautiful appearance. The expense of these repairs amounted to nearly three hundred dollars. To this I have added a cargo of nearly fourteen hundred dollars, and sent her down the coast. The season is very unfavourable : but, notwithstanding this, I have sent no ardent spirits, which is considered indispensable to successful trade at any season. I shall await her return with deep interest. I cannot be too urgent, if you desire to preserve the vessel, that no time be lost in sending out entire new copper and nails ; cordage for rigging ; cloth for a suit of sails, and for mending old ones. No time should be lost. Two anchors, of from 270 to 350 pounds, are also needed. Both masts are badly injured by the dry rot, and can be supplied cheaper and better from the United States than we can obtain them here."

THE AGENCY HOUSE.

"Notwithstanding the expensive bill of Mr. Ruffin, amounting to more than \$600, most of which I have drafted for, the house I found in a state hardly tenatable. The floor of the upper piazza was torn up behind, and partially at the two ends. The bannisters and railing for the same part were all down. The lower piazza floor and frame were entirely torn up, and the boards lost, having access to the house on either side only by plank. The sills and studs were decayed all around, from the united attacks of ants and weather ; so that the house had sunk, and nothing pre-

vented its falling but the piazza. The doors were unhinged, and the plastering off more or less. I have endeavoured to put it in repair, and have made considerable progress. New sills have been put in all around; the weather-boarding, which was torn off, replaced with new. The deep hole under the lower floor of the piazza has been filled up with rocks and sand, and a mason is now employed in laying a brick pavement instead of a floor, trusting that neither ants nor rain will injure it. The house has received a coat of paint, and the carpenter is now busily engaged in repairing the floor of the upper piazza. The lot attached to the house has been enclosed with a secure paling; and I intend that pine-apples, limes, &c. &c., shall replace the rank growth of weeds which have been cut down and burnt. Your Society will, without doubt, need a new building in one or two years, for the Agent: and though I shall not be here, I would unhesitatingly advise, that its walls be of stone."

"In relation to other transactions, the situation of the Elboes and Congoes early attracted my attention. They were in a state approaching to war, from disputes and jealousies relative to their officers. It was apprehended that I should find considerable difficulty in reconciling them again; however, by permitting each tribe to have a set of officers, as had been done always previously to the last election, all parties seemed satisfied. Concerning their location, I have had more perplexity. By a law made by Mr. Ashmun, they were to have been located three miles from any other settlement. Lott Carey placed them, or rather attempted to place them, immediately back of some lands given to the colonists on Stockton, about half way from Monrovia to Caldwell, hence called the 'Half Way Farms,' a location very inexpedient, both to the colonists and themselves; however, by mistake, they were actually placed upon lands belonging to individuals. By some neglect they have never been removed by my predecessor, and now it would be cruel and unjust to do so. They certainly are the most enterprising labourers in the colony, and are making the most rapid advances of any. Last year they left their old town of thatch houses, and have laid out another near the river, containing many frame buildings; and not less than twenty such are now under way.

"I could not reconcile it to my sense of duty to leave them at the mercy of the colonists, on whose lands they had built, and some of whom were already boasting of their advantage; I have therefore determined to make exchanges, even at the expense of parting with town lots of considerable value. By this means I hope to obtain lands there of sufficient extent to lay them out a town on the Stockton, that the experiment there may have a full trial. When informed of this plan, their joy seemed to know no bounds; and in their efforts to evidence it, by firing a great gun, three were very severely burned. The value of town lots and lands given in exchange for the farms, will be communicated at a future period."

"Your Agent has left no means unemployed to excite, if possible, a spirit for agricultural improvement, and may hope not entirely without success. As an auxiliary to these efforts, and to ease the burthen of supporting many poor, whose labours, under proper directions, might support themselves, he has commenced a small farm near Caldwell; and nothing but the want of suitable implements, the poorest kind of which are with difficulty obtained, prevents rapid progress. To reap the full benefit of such a plan will require the erection of a *Poor House*. In it we could employ the numerous old women, widows, &c. who are now eating, from the agency store, the bread of idleness. They might be employed in picking oakum, carding and spinning cotton, weaving and making up their own apparel. Thus the colonial largesses, instead of encouraging the idleness, would minister to the industry of the colony. The importance of such a measure presses upon my mind with peculiar weight. The growth of the colony will,

yes, must, be greatly retarded if it is neglected. Cotton might be abundantly raised on the farm, though perhaps two or three bales might be sent out profitably at first. Cards, I mean hand cards and wheels, must be supplied from America."

"If you will bear with me, I would offer a few remarks upon the mode of support at present allowed to officers in the colony. It appears to me a radical defect to allow any thing in addition to a stated and specific salary. Though delicacy might seem to urge my desisting, conscience will not permit me to be silent. The allowance of a support over and above the salary, has been, I verily believe, the prolific source of abuses and difficulties heretofore, and must continue to be while the system lasts. The Agent may not have the inclination to check extravagance, either in himself or others; but if the will exists, he is powerless as to the latter. The least interference will be construed into an infringement of privileges, and therefore he may be compelled to witness the most wasteful expenditure of moneys, which, when their source is regarded, may be considered holy, and the act appear a sacrilege. These sentiments are not entirely new to me, but my brief experience has indelibly impressed them on my mind. I have been led to dwell on them by having experienced some of the unpleasant effects of such interference. Economy in expenditure is never so thoroughly practised, as when joined with personal interest, and it is notoriously the case, that men, unless guided by an uncommon sense of future accountability, will be more prodigal of expenditure when the payments come from public bodies, than if their own pockets were to be made to bear them. The Board cannot expect all of their Agents to be immaculate, and therefore, in my opinion, the economy of conducting their affairs, demands that every officer have his certain fixed salary, and provide for himself. But independent of this, the consideration of difficulties to which Agents will be liable on the present plan, is sufficient, and every member of the Board would be convinced of it by one month's experience.

"Thus far in relation to pecuniary and political concerns. As to the internal policy of the colony, and the state of public officers, there seems even greater need of energetic action. The number of commonwealth cases has been truly alarming, bringing the treasury not less than three or four hundred dollars annually. To remedy this I have reproofed the officers, especially Justices of the Peace, many of whom were placed in commission by my predecessor, utterly ignorant of law, while old and experienced Justices were left out. I have been compelled to put some of the latter in commission. The neglect of several Committees, which receive no pay for their services, was prominent and hurtful, especially the Committee of Agriculture. These have been directed to act efficiently, in seeing the roads cleared and various nuisances removed, but have hitherto done nothing. The report of this Committee I have called for, but have not yet obtained it.—Its contents I can readily anticipate; and with the exception of gardens for families, twelve acres of coffee trees, planted by the Rev. C. M. Waring, I might venture the assertion, that not fifty acres are cultivated in the colony.

"Inquiring for the causes of this destructive and humiliating neglect, several were strikingly prominent. First and foremost stands the fascination of trade: the colonist who shall resist this temptation will be an object of admiration. However, I hope this evil is on the point of curing itself, and, though the process may be painful, I cannot doubt but the result will be beneficial. The commission merchants, who, by their lavish credits, have been the panders to this depraved appetite for gain, are now reaping the bitter fruits. Their employers come for pay, and behold half of those to whom they trusted goods are bankrupt, and they are themselves unable in some instances to meet their engagements. The consequence is, that in a short time, captains of vessels will entirely stop credits, and of course hundreds of strong men now in the country, must

return to the long deserted farms. To assist this result, the council have lately laid many discouragements in the way of vessels trusting their goods on long credits.

“But this has not been the principal cause of agricultural neglect. I am convinced the evil has its source farther back, and is deeper seated in the system. A colonist arrives in Monrovia at any time during the year. He is entitled to support six months. If anxious to do well, he looks forward to the day when this aid is to cease, and is prompted to make efforts to provide against it. If he gives way to these promptings, the result is generally severe illness and greater and longer continued weakness. If, as all experiences prove it most prudent, he sits down to await and escape the fever; the six months are soon gone, and he is cast upon his own resources. If in health, which is not often the case, he starts under the most favourable circumstances; but what are they? A penniless stranger, without house or food!! What is he to do under such circumstances? If his land is ready at the moment, he cannot wait to plant a crop and have it grow; his own wants and his family's, if he have any, demand immediate relief. Sawing timber has heretofore been the dernier resort. The new emigrant hires or borrows a saw, and with a companion proceeds to the woods to earn his bread. A tree is selected in the swamp, and having no oxen to draw it out, they are under the necessity of pitting it on the spot. Here, alternately standing in the water from knee to waist deep, and sawing four days, they are enabled, after carrying their wood to market, (which occupies the other two) to purchase enough to support themselves, and possibly he may be enabled to secure a lot in two years by building a plain frame house. In the mean time his system has become in most cases, deeply injured or diseased, an aversion to farming contracted, and the man's usefulness to himself and the colony almost ruined.

“Connected with this, I would again call the attention of the Board to the importance of ever having on hand a supply of utensils of every kind, without which nothing can proceed with ease. Hoes, axes, shovels, spades, cutlasses, scythes, pickaxes, crow-bars, &c. &c., should be kept ready for sale, and the public store never be without a supply.

“In relation to the schools, I am not prepared to make any but the most general remarks. The teachers at present employed, seem very attentive, and, as a general thing, very successful. Mr. Edin's school at New Georgia, supported by the ladies in Philadelphia, is greatly cramped in its operations, for want of a suitable room: and all the schools are suffering more or less from scarcity of books, stationary &c. &c. At present more than forty children at Edina are growing up to the privileges of freemen, without one school to teach the rudiments of learning.

“At present the Colonization Society hires the house occupied by Mrs. T., and the school is supported by ladies in Philadelphia, while more than forty children attend it daily from the wealthiest families.—The absurdity of such a state of things is too glaring, and shows the necessity of heavier taxation. I have attempted to get a subscription to erect the house, and find the most difficulty where I least expected it. I have resolved that unless those who are unable to pay for the house, will either pay the rent or build a house, to bring the school back to its original intention, and confine it to the education of orphans and poor. I remarked before, that all the schools needed books and stationary. This want is pressing. Do call upon the Christian community in America to turn a portion of their charities into this channel. Let them know, that to extend knowledge and promote sound piety, a quire of paper is, at the present moment, of more worth than a Bible. Bibles and Tracts have been sent here, and either used as waste paper, or made food for worms. Why? Not because the people despise either, but because we have not a reading population. Until this is secured, their Bibles would be of more value in China.

“ Since Mr. Thompson’s departure, I have appointed L. R. Johnson to fulfil his duties, in addition to those which he formerly performed, and allow him a salary of \$400 per annum, being \$200 less than was paid the two previously. Mr. Prout I have allowed to retain his office, being in daily expectation of hearing from the Board ; but in the mean time, have reduced his salary to \$400, with a saving of all perquisites to the Society. If he is continued in office, or another appointed, I think, under existing circumstances, \$300, with perquisites, would amply repay the duties required or rendered. As is natural, he is restive under it, and complains bitterly of partiality ; alleging as evidence, that I have not proceeded in the same way with all. Without pretending to reply to such an objection, I would add my views on the subject. I do not believe the interest of the Colony or Society demand the present number of officers.

“ Mr. Williams still claims his appointment, and alleges the request of yourself, while on his visit, as the reason ; and also claims to be allowed the expenses of his voyage to Africa, after his late visit to the United States. The latter I have refused, and referred it to the Board to decide upon. As to the office, he is allowed to retain it, and I endeavour to keep him busy—but with a full conviction that the duties of store-keeper might and ought to be connected with his : and the office, thus loaded with the duties now performed both by Mr. Williams and Mr. Johnson, given to a single individual, at the salary which either one now receives ; thus saving \$500 or \$600 annually to the Society. On the same principle, I would suggest that the duties of Secretary and Register be united for the present, until the colony becomes larger, with the salary at present annexed to the Secretary’s office.”

From the Liberator.

A HYMN.

O, righteous God, whose awful frown
Can crumble nations to the dust,
Trembling we stand before thy throne,
When we remember THOU ART JUST.

Dost thou not see the dreadful wrong
Which Afric’s injured son sustains ?
And wilt thou not arise ere long,
To plead his cause, and break his chains ?

Must not thine anger quickly rise
Against a race so proud, so vain,
Who dare thy righteous laws despise,
And traffic in the souls of men ?

Will not thy judgments, like a flood,
This deep polluted land o’erflow—
Drenched with our fellow-creatures’ blood—
Filled with the scenes of Afric’s wo !

The sin of slavery we forsake,
Lest we thy judgments here should view ;
Lest o’er our heads thy thunders break,—
Far worse than ancient Egypt knew.

M. J.

From the Liberator.

AN APPEAL

TO THE DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA.

Hark! Christian mothers! daughters! sisters! wives!
 Hark! hear ye not the spirit-piercing cry
 Of outraged *Woman* for her dearest rights!
 Oh, never talk of *virtue*—while ye hear
 That maddening cry of horror thus unmoved!
 Oh, never talk of *piety*—yet mark,
 With such a careless, cold, indifferent eye,
 Wrongs that might move the very rock to tears!
 Ay! soften flint! and make the sanguine earth,
 Like an affrighted conscience, cry aloud!
 Revealing crimes that would appal herself,
 And palsy Nature's spirit! Till this globe,
 Shocked with the wickedness her bosom bore,
 Should hang cold in her orbit, turned to stone—
 Smit by *offended Justice!* doomed to be
 Forever still amid the wheeling spheres,
 Whose ceaseless motion is a melody;
 And silent mid the circling harmonies,
 That lean forever on their golden lyres,
 And wake such music as enraptures heaven.

My countrywomen! be not '*whited walls!*'
 In Virtue's spotless *drapery* arrayed—
 Yet strangers to her *spirit!*—Charity—
 Daughter of Heaven—the loveliest and best—
 Is feminine in nature. Woman's soul
 Is, in its native purity, allied
 To her who suffereth long, and still is kind.
 Thus, woman is pre-eminently bound
 Her fairer sister's deeds to emulate;
 And, by such acts as stir the soul with love,
 Make her divine alliance evident!

To *Woman*, then, I make one strong appeal:
 Shut not your ears! turn not your eyes away!
 But hear! and see! and understand! and *feel!*
 The wrongs of injured woman!—nor forbear
 To stretch your hands—to lift your every voice!
 With one accord to make a firm resolve,
 Founded upon a prayerful trust in God,
 That *all our injured sisters shall be free!*
 And renovated—*free in soul as limb!*

Fair daughters of America! awake!
 Wake to your duty! all who bend the knee
 In peace around your altars! Help for her,
 Whose prayers are answered—only by the scourge!
 All ye who love your offspring! Help! for her,
 Whose screeching children, clinging to her arms,
 A mother's arms, and yet too weak to hold—
 Are torn away, by hands that never wrought
 One deed of mercy—one pure act of love!
 All ye who nurture the endearing ties
 Of home and kindred! Help! Oh! help for her,

The fettered one, whose burning eye is turned
 On home and kindred she may know no more !
 All ye who cherish daughters, as the shrine
 Where look or thought impure may never come—
 Help, help for her, whose agonizing cries
 Tell she is witness of a daughter's wrongs.
 Ye've slept too long already!—Wake! awake!
 And if your duty is not evident,
 Look o'er the broad Atlantic—look! and see
 What woman's voice hath done—is doing now!
 And if ye have no *feeling*, do have *shame*!
 Shame that the daughters of a land less free,
 Should go before Columbia's, in the work
 Of *Mercy, Justice, Truth, and Liberty*!

No work is this to choose or to reject :
 'Tis the stern call of *Duty*. Haste! obey!
 List the low wail of *Mercy* for the fallen!
 The long, deep cry of *Justice* for the wronged!
 Look on the kneeling, bleeding, helpless one—
 The chained—the spirit-bowed—the desolate—
 Stretch forth your hands, and lift her from the dust!
 Whisper, 'Thou *art* our sister.' Wipe her tears.
 Pour balm into her deeply festering wounds.
 Comfort her stricken spirit. Point on high,
 To the great *God*, who loveth *all alike*!
 And tell her that a *Father* liveth there.
 Teach her to know her own immortal soul;
 To quench her ardent spirit's burning thirst
 At the quick streams of knowledge. Haste! resolve!
 Resolve and *act*—and *triumph* shall be yours.
 For what, in all the tomes of history,
 The record beareth—of a *firm resolve*
Planted in woman's soul, that turned to nought?

Emancipation should be woman's work.
Withdraw your countenance, and the work is done;
 For men will never run against the tide
 Of woman's favour. Let *oppression* be
 No subject for your dalliance or your smiles.
 Stretch not your hand to *robbery*—whisper not
 The tender vow to *Murder*—though he come
 In all the proud authority of *Law*,
 With gilded trappings and in pompous state:
 Nor smile on him who says these things are good;
 The weak *Apologist*, who sanctions crime
 By *precept*—though his *practice* might condemn!
 Or who laments the *hard necessity*
Of being more than robbers!—Be yourselves!
 And dare to think—and, thinking, dare to *act*!
 Remember this—'Tis *crime to smile on crime*!

FRANCES HARRIET WHIPPLE.

Pomfret, Ct., June 10, 1834.

From the Emancipator.

GUNS, SABRES, CUTLASSES AND RUM FOR LIBERIA!

In the ship *Jupiter* that sailed from this port for Monrovia, 21st instant, were the following articles :

50 GUNS.

6 cases containing 120 TOWER GUNS.

8 cases containing 800 SABRES.

98 barrels containing 3,844 GALLONS RUM.

481 kegs containing 8,620 pounds POWDER.

1 case CUTLASSES, &c. &c. &c.

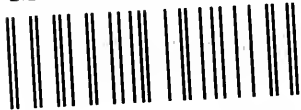
These articles were shipped by individuals in this city, and are, it is presumed, consigned to *ministers of the Gospel*, who are also commission merchants at Liberia. The *Journal of Commerce* asserts that the RUM is not to be *landed* there. Is it, then, consigned to the captain, to be sold to the natives on board the ship? This makes the matter worse. It is sent, at any rate, to *the coast of Africa*, to be sold there for the use of the colonists, or natives, or both. And it is sent out in a ship almost identified with the colonization cause—a regular packet between New York and Liberia.

It is not denied that the GUNS, SABRES, CUTLASSES and POWDER are to be *landed* at Liberia. The *Journal of Commerce* admits that *the Colonization Society can determine what goods shall be admitted into the colony*. Mark this. The truth, then, if I understand it, is this. The Society has *requested* that the Rum should not be *landed* at Liberia, but sold from the ship, or landed elsewhere on the coast; and has sanctioned the Guns, Sabres, Cutlasses and Powder being landed and sold. Let the friends of peace, of temperance, the churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, the ministers of the Gospel, and all who have been so frequently and earnestly appealed to, for aid “for the shipment per the ship *Jupiter*,” think of these things.





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